

**Comintern 7th World
Congress Part 8: The Movement
of the Youth and the Struggle
Against Fascism and the Danger
of War**

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1935 London: Modern Books
16p.

**The Movement of the Youth and the
Struggle Against Fascism and
the Danger of War**

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THE POSITION OF THE YOUTH HAS CHANGED

Dear comrades, the clearest and truest word about the threatening war danger was expressed by Comrade Stalin at the last Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He showed with remarkable clarity how hopeless is the confusion and how blind the alley into which the imperialist politicians have fallen, people who despite the experience of the last world war, which unleashed revolution in many countries and culminated in the victory of the proletariat in Russia, are again preparing to seize on war, "as a drowning man grasps at a straw." Another imperialist war "will surely let loose revolution and will put under question the very existence of capitalism in a number of countries," said Comrade Stalin. But in this same speech Comrade Stalin categorically warned *against any opportunist belief in spontaneity.*

At our Congress, Comrade Dimitrov has delivered a very heavy blow at reliance on spontaneity. As you remember, comrades, his report on the question of struggle against fascism, as well as his concluding remarks, were permeated from beginning to end with the spirit of struggle against reliance on automatism, the spirit of raising our Bolshevik activity to the highest possible degree.

The report of Comrade Ercoli was so comprehensive and all-embracing that there is little left for me to add. My additional remarks refer exclusively to only one section of this front, namely, the struggle for the youth.

It is of *decisive* importance both in the struggle against the war danger as well as against fascism, whether or not we succeed in launching a powerful mass revolutionary or radical movement of the youth. And of particular importance is the development of a *wide united front movement of the youth.*

It stands to reason that the questions of the struggle against war and fascism are among the most important questions facing any radical movement of the youth. But experience has shown,

that if we have a programme of action for the youth which is confined exclusively to the question of the struggle against war and fascism, or if the anti-war and anti-fascist struggle of the youth is dealt with in a narrow "official" way, the vast masses of youth cannot be embraced and drawn into the movement. To bring them into motion a wider programme of action is necessary.

This was shown, for example, by the work of the International Youth Committee for the Struggle against Fascism and War. That committee performed a good deal of work, but little progress was made in drawing in the masses so long as it confined itself merely to these two issues. It was only when the International Committee took the initiative in convening a broad youth conference on the basis of a general youth programme that it met with a warm response from the masses.

How is this to be explained, comrades? It is to be explained by the fact that *the conditions of the youth have fundamentally changed in the last few years*. It is not merely a question of chronic unemployment lasting many years. The fact that there is no trade or profession open for the youth has already become quite general. Formerly there were some schools, at least elementary schools, open for the masses of the youth in most of the capitalist countries. Now the possibilities of entering school and in general of securing an education are being severely restricted for the young people among the toiling sections of the population. Formerly it was possible for a certain, if only insignificant, section of the working youth to elevate themselves a little "above" their own class, into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeois intellectuals. In exceptional cases the young worker could become a doctor, an architect, or a teacher. And these exceptional cases were sufficient to ensure that vast members of the working youth were subordinated to the influence of reformist illusions.

Now it is just the reverse. Entire sections of young workers are becoming *declassed*, i.e., they have even no opportunity of rising to the class of their own fathers. They have no chance at all of finding work or of learning some kind of trade. These young people are degraded to the level of the lumpen proletariat, and fall into the clutches of starvation and poverty, crime, and prostitution, etc.

But the bourgeoisie who cannot provide work to ever larger sections of young workers, needs the latter for the purposes of war. The youth are herded together in military barracks and forced labour camps.

In one form or another want affects nine-tenths of the youth. *The younger generation is an impoverished and heavily oppressed*

generation. It is a new oppressed stratum of the people. Even the United States, the country where young people have the greatest opportunities, and where their conditions are comparatively good, has become a country of terrific unemployment and insecurity for the youth.

This state of affairs has created special ground for the development of a broad young people's front.

The bourgeoisie have charged fascism with the mission of swaying the impoverished youth by means of demagoguery, and especially chauvinism. There can be no doubt that in these circumstances objective conditions offer favourable ground for fascism to carry on its live work. But Communism has also far greater possibilities for work among the youth than formerly.

Our decisions in regard to the youth suffered from one defect: they were too general, too abstract. This should serve as a lesson to us. Comrade Dimitrov correctly pointed out that sectarianism is often covered up by Bolshevik theses. We are not afraid to criticise that, and we certainly have good reason for criticism and self-criticism in so far as the youth movement is concerned. This time, however, I should like to tell you of some of the recent positive experiences of the young Communist movement in some countries, especially in *France and the United States*.

THE FRENCH EXPERIENCE

The fascists faced the masses of the French youth with the question of establishing a "front of the young generation." Our French comrades, Comrade Raimond Guyot and others, accepted this fascist challenge. But how?

Had they been simple doctrinaire propagandists, they would have rejected the very formulation of this question, and would have said that there is no problem of the young generation, that there is only the class problem, the question of the oppressed toiling classes and their youth.

But the French comrades said something else. They said: "Very well, let us discuss the problem of the younger generation of to-day. That *really is* an acute and sore problem. It is a question of want, oppression, and despair being suffered by the overwhelming majority of the young generation to-day. A struggle must be waged against this ruthless oppression of the youth. The youth must fight for their rights, a struggle in their cause is absolutely necessary. A front of the young generation must be set up. *But against whom?* Who is to blame for the pauperisation of the young generation? Who exploits and throws you out of work and on to the streets for the sake of their own gain? It is the capitalist, and primarily the big capitalist. Who

oppresses and wrongs the youth? Who prevents you from leading a decent human life? It is the reactionary bourgeoisie with the aid of their machinery of government. Who wants still more ferociously to tie the youth hand and foot? Who wants with blood and iron to crush the struggle of the youth for their rights? It is the executors of the will of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the fascists, the "croix de feu" ("Fiery Cross") people, it is they who want to do that. Consequently, they are the enemies of the youth. It is against them that a front of the young generation must be created."

That is how the French comrades dealt with this question.

Was this position of our French comrades right or wrong? If any of you comrades should want to reply: "Of course it is right," then I will say: "Yes, it is right," but I would add, not "of course." For the fact is that last year, when our French comrades first adopted this approach to the masses of the youth, this was not at all something self-evident. On the contrary, here in the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, even some of the best comrades thought this was something doubtful, something suspicious. They shook their heads and wondered: "What sort of language is this? What is that front of the young generation? That is not our Communist language. It is a slogan borrowed from the fascists."

That, of course, was an obvious misunderstanding. For the French Communists merely utilised the *form* of raising this question used by the fascists as a starting point so as to lend it a *genuine revolutionary content*. And precisely because they were not frightened by this formulation of the question, but faced the polemics provoked by the fascists and went before the masses of the youth, they succeeded in knocking the sword out of the hands of the fascists and in directing it *against* fascism.

It was precisely the ability of skilfully parrying the blows of the fascist demagogues that our young comrades in Germany lacked at one time.

In their speeches to the young workers the French comrades were also able correctly to answer the question of *what the youth must fight for*.

Should they fight for their elementary demand of their daily bread or for the great ideals of the future? This wrong way of setting the one against the other has in a number of countries been a constant stumbling block in the Communist agitation among the youth, as a result of which our Leagues did not fight with all the fervour of conviction *either* for the immediate day-to-day demands of the youth, *or* for the great aims of the future. The broad masses of the youth were left with the false impres-

sion that the reformists and even the Catholic priests were more concerned than the Communists with the day-to-day needs of the masses of the youth, and that the fascist demagogues were better able than the Communists to open before them bright vistas of the future.

But the French comrades found the key to the organic fusion of the day-to-day demands of the youth with the revolutionary goal of the youth movement. They called forth an enthusiastic response in the ranks of the Socialist as well as the Republican and Catholic youth, and also at mass meetings of the unemployed youth, by addressing them as follows:

"All young people suffering from want and deprived of their rights, must rise for a joint struggle! Into the fight for our rights, for the rights of the youth! We have the right to live, but the capitalists and speculators deny us even this elementary right of man. We demand immediate aid, we demand immediate work. We have the right to learn a trade, we have the right to education in general! Of this right we are now being systematically deprived. This right is being constantly curtailed. We demand that the government takes immediate measures against this. We demand that the burdens of the crisis be shifted from the backs of the toiling people on to the shoulders of the moneybags, on to those who are profiting from the crisis. We, the younger generation, demand the right to a better and happier future. We shall not tolerate the Hitlerisation of France! We demand the dissolution of the fascist murder gangs. We want to fight for peace among the nations! We must therefore conduct a determined struggle in our country against the fascists, and against the reactionary militarists, who are preparing another world war and a criminal civil war against the working class of France!"

It was in this spirit that the Young Communist League of France approached the masses, and succeeded in laying the foundation for a mass united front movement of the youth. But our young French comrades were criticised from the angle of the old doctrinaire formulæ: "Why," they were told, "you have forgotten to emphasise that it is *impossible* to carry through any kind of demands for the improvement of the conditions of the young workers under capitalism." "This is a fundamental omission, an opportunist deviation," was the point of view of the strict critics.

But the French young comrades maintained and still maintain with good reason: "No, *we can* achieve some improvement in the conditions of the youth if the vast masses of the youth rise to a joint and determined struggle. Whether this will happen or not

depends primarily upon us, upon our energy and upon the correctness of our tactics."

To bring this about the French comrades went to the masses of the unemployed youth with true Bolshevik determination and told them: "Winter is approaching, comrades. You know what sufferings that will bring. Must we suffer all this torture like cowardly slaves? No! We cannot and do not wish to go through the coming winter the way we have done hitherto! If you agree with us, then we propose immediate action. Let us immediately send mass deputations to the Ministry of Labour! Let us send deputations even to Geneva, to the League of Nations! Let us immediately organise powerful demonstrations on the streets of Paris? We, the youth, must fight for our right to live! Only in this way shall we secure an improvement of our conditions. And we shall fight like lions. We will show the rich bankers and other hyenas of the crisis, the gentlemen of the Comité des Forges and their like, that we, the French youth, do not want to be slaves! Let the old world tremble, because we, the youth of France, are rising!"

That is how our French young comrades conquered fascism politically at this stage of the fight facing the broad masses of the youth. The fascists lost their desire to speak any further of the "front of the younger generation," they retreated like whipped dogs with their tails between their legs. (Applause.)

This "French method of struggle" against fascism was something new only a year ago. It required at the time great political courage and independence on the part of our comrades. For those comrades of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International who at first could not understand this language of the Young Communists of France, a language free from the old hackneyed verbiage, because they failed to understand its political meaning, for them this served as an important political lesson. It called it "a lesson in French" at the time.

The Young Communist International as a whole, has, of course, so far only made the first steps in the application of these tactics. There is no doubt, however, that under the present leadership it will make rapid headway along this path.

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The experience of the Young Communist League of the United States is also extremely instructive.

Things began with the well-advised organisational initiative of one of the fascist groups which, with the support of the government, called a congress of all the youth organisations of the country. The Young Communist League was faced with the question of whether to send its representatives to that con-

gress or not. It is not surprising that, this being a new departure, a question of opinion arose in the League. A few years ago such a question would probably have been decided without any discussion, with a simple refusal to take any part in the congress. Our comrades would very likely have been perfectly satisfied with such a sectarian decision, and would have regarded it as the best solution of the question. On this occasion, however, the question was discussed in the Young Communist League, and it was found that the comrades who objected to participation in the congress had poor arguments. "We fear we are too weak," they said, "to be able to withstand such mighty forces."

As you see, comrades, the old sectarianism, which on so many occasions spoke with an exaggerated air of self-assurance, in the present occasion, when an important practical question called for a clear and courageous decision, was the very embodiment of lack of self-assurance and disbelief in its own strength or of being able to play a leading role among the young workers.

The leaders of our American Young Communist League, headed by Comrade Green, rejected this weak-kneed argument, rolled up their sleeves, and went to the congress which represented a motley gathering of the various social strata of the American youth. Our American comrades were very successful at the congress. The agents of the fascists were totally isolated, and the congress became a gathering of the united front of the radical youth. And when after some time a second youth congress was held, our young comrades occupied a very important position there, enjoying the confidence they had gained through their new mass policy and the good work they had learned to carry on.

What concretely have they learned to do?

Firstly, they have learned soberly to estimate the degree of the radicalisation of the masses of the youth, i.e., to judge it correctly without Right under-estimation or "Left" over-estimation.

Formerly some comrades imagined things simply this way, namely, that once radicalisation had set in among the toiling masses and an upward swing had begun in the mass movement, and that is what had actually happened in America, then you can without further ado "formulate" the existence of a revolutionary upward swing, and then all that needed to be done was to look up the programme of the Communist International, find what revolutionary slogans had to be applied to such a situation and what revolutionary tasks had to be undertaken.

The American young comrades have now seen that although a big process has begun in the United States in which they are growing more radical and active among the masses of the youth,

these masses, even their most active representatives, have not as yet understood the most simple Communist slogans or appeals. They have not even understood the meaning of such a "simple" thing as fascism. That has had to be explained in a popular form. And even when these elements did understand that fascism is their enemy, it turned out that many of them found it to be perfectly acceptable to adopt the slogan advocated in Hearst's press, namely, Down with Communism and fascism! They did not notice that it was in just this deceptive form that the purely American fascist agitation was being carried on. It was necessary to explain the actual state of affairs very patiently, without forcing upon the youth our point of view.

Secondly, our American Young Communists convinced themselves that they could really learn much from the masses of non-Communists.

They, for instance, learned a "new language," the fresh, concrete, popular and expressive language of the youth, a language which Comrade Dimitrov insisted upon here, instead of the old dry, stereotyped jargon which almost no sane person can properly understand.

Thirdly, the American Young Communists have also learned to overcome their former rigidity and to apply flexible tactics.

Comrade Green mentioned two examples of this. The first example was that of the religious members of the congress who were at first sceptical on the possibility of a united front with the Communists, and who were given an opportunity on Sunday morning of having the pleasure of attending church service. Another example was that of Roosevelt's plan of providing for the youth, which stipulated an appropriation of 50 million dollars as immediate aid to the youth, and which, on the initiative of our comrades, was not denounced as demagoguery, but was accepted as a concession which the government had to make in view of the growing united front movement of the youth. At the same time the leaders of the united front movement of the youth showed the sparsity of this measure and showed the masses how the government plan threatened to worsen the conditions of some sections of the youth. Comrade Green was quite right in estimating the results of these tactics as follows:

"Thus this project of Roosevelt was changed from a weapon directed against the Youth Congress into an instrument for mobilising the youth for increased government aid."

We see here the same result as in France. The sword was knocked out of the hands of the enemy and directed against him.

Fourthly, the comrades of the Young Communist League of the United States convinced themselves of the fact that it is necessary

to enter the broad organisations of the youth which are now under bourgeois leadership. Moreover, they have learned how to carry on work there.

Formerly, such youth organisations were classified by the Young Communist International as hostile organisations pure and simple, and the millions of their members were regarded as "opponents."

The fact that the majority of toiling youth in the United States, and not only there, belong to these organisations was totally disregarded. And even when we actually began to speak of the need to carry on work in the ranks of these organisations, this work was understood in a purely sectarian spirit, as work to be carried on for their "disintegration," which was so unsuitable in this sphere that we need not regret that these decisions mostly remained on paper.

The American Young Communists, summing up their experience, tell us that we must go to these mass organisations, not with a view to disintegrating them, but so as to "transform them from centres of bourgeois influence into centres for united front struggle, into centres of proletarian influence." The masses of the youth regard these organisations as their own and only by serious work to make these organisations defend the needs and interests of the youth can we widen our mass movements.

Our American Communists found in these organisations large numbers of officials and leaders who were prepared to fight together with the Communists against reaction, and in the course of less than a year the Y.C.L. succeeded in forming 175 cells in these mass organisations. (Applause.)

Comrades, these are only some, and not all, of the favourable results of the recent work of the Young Communist League of the United States of America.

WORK IN THE BOURGEOIS YOUTH ORGANISATIONS

Is all this work carried on in the ranks of the bourgeois mass organisations, the beginning of which has so successfully been laid by the American Young Communists, possible and necessary only in the United States?

Of course, it is possible and necessary not only there. It is just as possible—although perhaps in not the same forms—in many other countries. Our comrades in Great Britain began, or, to be more exact, they are just beginning to do something of the same nature in different concrete forms. They are rather late. In the Scandinavian countries our comrades are so tardy that they have not as yet even raised this question very seriously.

In the fascist countries this work must, of course, be carried on differently than under legal conditions. Comrade Dimitrov excel-

lently illustrated this to us by his apt comparison with the Trojan Horse.

But not only in the fascist countries have we to apply these tactics—we have also to do so in some of the colonial countries, for example, in China. You know that our Chinese Young Communists have performed heroic deeds of a truly legendary nature in the Soviet areas. They skilfully apply the Trojan Horse tactics at the front. But in the Kuomintang areas, where terror reigns supreme, they are weak precisely when it comes to using these tactics. The famous French writer, Andre Malreaux, seeking examples of supreme heroism, had to go to China. There he found what he wanted. He found great deeds of our glorious Chinese Youth. But the task of freeing themselves from sectarian survivals under the conditions of terror proved to be difficult even for our Chinese comrades. They must learn to lead the Trojan Horse into the broad mass organisations created by the class enemy. And they will learn to do this. They are gifted people. (Applause.)

Even the non-fascist leaders of such mass organisations, even those who carry on pacifist propaganda in "peace time," will, in nine cases out of ten, actually place themselves, in one form or another, at the disposal of the military leaders when the ruling bourgeoisie declare war. The mass of young members of these organisations will be caught unawares. They will be fooled into war if they are not prepared for this in advance, by their contacts with the Communists, if prior to this the Communists merely babble about "mass work."

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUES

How can the proletariat of the imperialist countries prepare for the event of imperialist war if our *Young Communist Leagues* are as weak as they are to-day? Without strong active revolutionary young workers' organisations organically linked up with the biggest youth organisations in the country, the proletariat will resemble a soldier without arms in the struggle against war and fascism.

But it does not follow from the fact that we need to have strong revolutionary organisations, that our Youth Leagues must accept only such new members who are already revolutionary, who are already Communists, who can be fully relied upon. No! We must *open wider the doors of our youth organisations!* Wherever these organisations are legal they must be absolutely open for all young lads and lasses who sincerely sympathise with Communism and wish to study Communism.

Life in the Young Communist organisations must be so readjusted as to make the new members who are not yet Com-

munists, who are not yet accustomed to Communist discipline and Communist activity, feel at home in our Young Communist Leagues, feel interested in coming to our meetings, and take a lively interest in the life of our organisations so as to give them an opportunity to develop step by step into good Communists.

Fluctuation of membership was particularly high in our youth organisations. And what is fluctuation? It is a criticism of our sectarianism wielded by the masses who sympathise with us. (Applause.) This sectarianism is for the most part expressed in excessive demands put on new members in regard to work and discipline, such which they cannot fulfil. Moreover, their work is badly organised, it is mostly of a technical character and so boring that it can kill any live interest in it. And anyone who cannot meet these demands is attacked by our Young Communist officials, and often even expelled. I have information from Spain that in many instances members of the youth organisations are expected to do more than members of the Communist Party. Fluctuation there is correspondingly very high. This is one, although not the only one, of the forms, but one of the worst forms in which our youth organisations copy the Parties and which Comrade Dimitrov so thoroughly criticised.

THE MAIN TASK FACING THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The main task facing the Young Communist International is *to establish unity in the youth movement against fascism, war and capitalist oppression.* This main task was very clearly and firmly raised by Comrade George Dimitrov in his report and resolution on the second point of the Congress Agenda. It met with wholehearted approval of the Young Communist delegation at our World Congress.

An amalgamation of the forces and constant unity of action of the Young Socialist and Young Communist Leagues would undoubtedly attract the young workers into both youth organisations. Together, they would constitute a *leading force* in the mass movement of the youth in the respective countries, especially in the movement against fascism which threatens to annihilate both the Communist as well as the Socialist Youth Leagues and all progressive youth organisations.

Comrade Dimitrov therefore urged the youth to create an *anti-fascist association* of the Young Communist and Young Socialist Leagues, based on a programme of the class struggle. Comrade Dimitrov's appeal will undoubtedly meet with warm response among the Young Socialists.

The Communist youth, on their part, are in duty bound to

facilitate the acceptance of this proposal by the Young Socialist organisations. That will mark a big step forward in the youth movement.

But this international task by no means signifies that we cannot or should not go further in some countries. If the Communist International is now raising the question of merging the Parties, then it is clear that the possibility of merging the Young Communist and Young Socialist organisations is a still more immediate and urgent task in some countries.

In the Young Socialist International there is already a Left wing fighting for a united front and approaching a revolutionary position. That could not be otherwise! On the eve of great mass combats, the best and most capable forces of the working youth are deserting the camp of reformism and coming over to the side of the proletarian revolution. And this is true not only of the young workers, but also of the youth of the other toiling classes, the students, etc. They are fresh capable forces at the disposal of the active army in the war for social emancipation.

We can see this in all countries where the Communists have been able in a proper way to assist the process of the radicalisation of the youth going on in the bourgeois mass organisations.

Hence the far-reaching immediate importance of the second task which Comrade Dimitrov has set before the youth, the task of "uniting the forces of all non-fascist mass organisations of the youth, including the youth organisations in the trade unions, co-operatives, etc., on the basis of a wide united front, going as far as creating all kinds of common organisations for the struggle against fascism, against the unheard denial of the rights of the youth, against their militarisation, and for the economic and cultural interests of the younger generation."

Comrades, this is the correct way, the line of the Young Communist movement.

FOR FREEDOM! FOR THE IDEALS OF THE YOUTH!

In the international united front movement of the youth, as you know, we have lately begun to use new slogans, which in form are fairly old—slogans of liberty, peace and the defence of democracy. It is quite natural for some of our comrades to be confused, because they know, and it could not be otherwise, that the slogans we support can and must be able to stand criticism from the point of view of Communist principles.

Comrades who doubt, do not realise that times have changed, that slogans are not fossils, that their vital content changes with the times and circumstances. The slogan of liberty was at one time a revolutionary slogan of the revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Later it became a reformist slogan. Finally, at a still later date, it became a counter-revolutionary slogan. In Germany, for example, in the years of 1928-1932, when the Social Democrats were in the government and held on to the slogan: "Against Dictatorships from the Left or from the Right, For Freedom," that was a counter-revolutionary slogan of the Social-Democratic government. But now when it is advanced as a slogan of struggle not against the Communists by jointly with them, a united front struggle against fascism, this slogan, of course, acquires an entirely different content. Naturally, such people's front slogans are unclear and it is therefore our duty to make them clear. We must raise the question squarely before the masses: *freedom for which classes?* otherwise this slogan may dull the class-consciousness of the proletariat and its allies.

Consequently, the question has to be elucidated; but it would be unwise to simply reject such slogans. The old slogans have to be filled with new revolutionary meaning. Why, even Lenin said:

"Liberty, needless to say, is a very, very vital slogan for any revolution, be it socialist or democratic."

We have also begun to speak of *ideals*, according to the new French use of the word "in the united front movement of the youth. But is that idealism something that we must reject? No. The position is as follows: there are both reactionary and revolutionary ideals. The first have to be repudiated, but the second have to be raised high. Our *Soviet ideals* are materialist, Communist ideals which have to be carried to the vast masses of the youth, which have to be inculcated into the minds of the youth.

Facts show that the prestige of the Soviet Union is very great in capitalist countries, especially among the youth. But how weak we still are in popularising the great achievements of the Soviet Union! How weak we still are when it comes to depicting the bright future unfolding before the Soviet youth! Yet, it is one of the major political tasks of the youth movement to do that.

I have before me a speech delivered by a Soviet girl who finished high school last spring. Listen how she describes the position of the Soviet youth.

"The doors to a joyful creative life are hospitably and wide open before us!

"Engineers, turners, tractorists, agronomists, writers, chemists, electricians—they are all needed by my young, beautiful mother country!

"Yes, the poet Mayakovsky was right when he said that 'Their life is beautiful, and it is beautiful to live in this remarkable epoch in our magnificent country! Our contem-

poraries abroad never knew such splendid, full, sunny, joyful days as we enjoy to-day. . . .

"This opportunity of studying joyfully, buoyantly and well has been won for us by our fathers, our brothers, under the leadership of our great Communist Party, in the battles of October. . . .

"Among us are not only future engineers, technicians, chemists, agronomists, Red Army commanders, aviators, tank commanders, among us there are also writers, poets, composers, sculptors; we have among us volley ball players, chess players, and splendid sportsmen; . . .

"Why, we are the young masters of our Soviet land! Before us is the colossal task of subduing space and time!

"We want to, must and shall live long, because Vladimir Ilyich placed the task before us of erecting Communist society. He said: 'It is precisely the youth who will have to build up Communist society! . . .'

"Yes, we will explore, understand and discover all—from the frosty Pole to the blue firmament! When the country tells us to be heroes, each of us will become a hero! . . .

"Heroism in our country is not a simple senseless rush for glory. Our heroism lies in our daily serious struggle and work." (Stormy applause.)

Try, comrades, to transmit this in the language of your countries, but without fail in the full-blooded, expressive language of the youth, and then you will see that a good deal more can be accomplished by that in our revolutionary agitation than by quoting dry statistics.

Comrades, we at this Congress are all imbued with the firm belief that the new tactical turn outlined by Comrade Dimitrov with such force of conviction will help us achieve really great successes in all spheres of our world movement, and certainly in our youth movement.

One thing is certain, comrades, *things will not take place automatically*. First of all, it is absolutely essential for the Communist Parties to offer the greatest possible aid to the youth movement.

All the Communist Parties and all of their leaders must understand once and for all that the youth movement is the *heart* of the movement for social emancipation. Our youth, our hope, is growing, but it can grow ten times as fast if the Party leaders really help them, if they offer real capable forces to assist the youth. Some leaders of our youth movement have in the last few years risen to the level of real leaders of the youth. But things will never go smoothly if the Party leaders, as now often happens, immediately take away from the Leagues any active Young Com-

unist who demonstrates his capability as a worker in the youth movement.

Of course the Young Communist League is also a school where forces are trained for the Party. But a school from which all the capable teachers and leaders are removed is of no value. (Stormy applause.)

Comrades, another imperialist world war is approaching. The most criminal of all criminal wars, a counter-revolutionary imperialist attack on the land of Soviets, on the fatherland of the workers of all countries, is under preparation.

And we know, as Comrade Stalin said, that this war will be the most dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. But whom the gods want to destroy they first make mad.

The dominant bourgeoisie is heading towards the most dangerous military adventure. In some countries it has already chosen its dumb and blind madcap adventurers as "leaders" and entrusted them with the helms of state.

Perhaps the German bourgeoisie have not deserved any better leaders, but, be that as it may, the world must be made safe against these madmen.

The leaders of the Japanese army are almost just as socially dangerous "apostles of peace" (as the famous General Araki called himself and his associates). Nor is sound political judgment at the helm of state in Poland. As to British imperialism, insatiable in conquests, it is ready to support, directly or indirectly, any government of adventurers in a war against the Land of the Soviets.

All of them are from various ends driving their people to another world slaughter. Hence the sharp danger of war.

But none of that frightens us. It imperatively demands, however, serious and energetic mobilisation of the toiling population for resistance, for a struggle against the military preparations of the bourgeoisie. It requires that the millions of the youth be drawn into the united front.

How else will we be in a position to resist the imperialist war instigators?

We want to attack our class enemies from the rear if they start a war against the Soviet Union. But *how* can we do that if the majority of the toiling population is not with us, but is, for instance, on the side of the clergy or the liberal chameleons?

We often repeat the slogan of converting imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie. In itself that is a very good slogan, but it may become a meaningless and harmful phrase if we do nothing serious in advance in order to weld together a united front of the youth. (Prolonged applause.)

The situation demands a revolutionary youth movement at least ten times wider than our Party, and a united front of the youth a hundred times as big. That this is quite possible in many countries is shown by the success of the French and American Young Communists.

Only if we get down to this work and carry it out as it should be, only if we achieve real important successes in this work, will we be able to say that we have prepared the masses in Bolshevik fashion for the eventuality of an imperialist war.

We also call upon the pacifist youth organisations to join our united front, but we must constantly educate the youth along the lines which Lenin taught us :

" You will be given a rifle. Take it and learn well the military art. This science is essential for proletarians, not in order to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to Socialism advise you to do, but in order to fight against the bourgeoisie of your own country, so as to put an end to exploitation, poverty and wars, not by means of pious wishes, but through victory over the bourgeoisie, through disarming the bourgeoisie." (Stormy applause.)

If our Parties and our youth fight against war in this spirit, then there is no doubt that the impending counter-revolutionary imperialist war will in a whole number of countries lead to revolution, and that by the end of the war a certain Goering will not look better than did Van der Lubbe in Leipzig. (Stormy applause.)

Long live the Bolshevik Youth !

Long live our Common Splendid Soviet Fatherland !

Long live the Great Leader of the World Proletariat—Stalin !

(Stormy prolonged applause, all rise, shouts of " Rot Front ! " " Hurrah ! " " Banzai ! " came from every end of the hall. Delegates sing their revolutionary songs, " The Young Guards," " Carmagnole," etc.).